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ABSTRACT

Six papers prepared within the Office of Career Education during the period 1975-76 are contained in this monograph. The papers are presented in their order of preparation, each intended to make some contribution to refinement of the career education concept. "Career Education: A Crusade for Change" discusses the need for, nature of, and implementation of career education. "Career Education: What's Doable Now?" discusses current strengths of career education, initiation of community career education efforts, and current readiness of the career education concept (1975). "Career Education and the Marshmallow Principle" illustrates how this principle (internal commitment) is being accommodated in the basic strategies for accomplishing change embodied in the career education concept. In "Setting the Record Straight: A Reply to Grubb and Lazerson," discussion centers around what the author considers major errors in Grubb and Lazerson's "Harvard Educational Review" article on career education. "Obstacles and Opportunities in Career Education" identifies and comments on five major obstacles facing the implementation of career education and offers alternative solutions for overcoming these obstacles. "Next Steps for Career Education" comments on solidifying the career education concept at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels. (TA)

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MONOGRAPHS ON CAREER EDUCATION

REFINING THE CAREER EDUCATION CONCEPT

by

Kenneth Hoyt, *Director*
Office of Career Education
Office of Education

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PREFACE

The career education concept has been evolving since prior to 1971 when the term was first used by former USOE Commissioner Sidney P. Marland, Jr. This monograph contains, *in their order preparation,* six papers prepared within OE's Office of Career Education during the period 1974-1976, each intended to make some contribution to refinement of the career education concept.

It is hoped that interested persons will read this collection of papers in the order in which they appear. This is because, in several ways, specific refinements and adaptations in the career education concept can be seen during the two year period in which these papers were prepared.

Those reading this series of papers are reminded here of two very important facts. First, because they cover a very specific and finite period of time, they will not serve as an adequate compilation of conceptual efforts. A very great deal of USOE conceptual activity, with respect to career education, took place prior to the time this set of papers was prepared. This set of papers is best thought of as representing conceptual efforts taking place since the Office of Career Education was officially established within the U.S. Office of Education.

Second, these USOE conceptual efforts represent only a small part of those taking place throughout the United States during this two year period. No claim nor pretense is made here that the USOE conceptual efforts are the only ones underway. Neither is any claim being made here that the USOE conceptual efforts are, in any way, superior to any others. Rather, the reason these papers were drawn together was simply to illustrate, in a developmental fashion, conceptual efforts in career education of USOE's Office of Career Education during this two year period. By placing them in a single publication, it is our hope that the USOE position will be further clarified.

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CAREER EDUCATION: A CRUSADE FOR CHANGE

It has been only four years since former USOE Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland, Jr. coined the term "career education." Since that time, the concept has swept the country. At a recent USOE career education conference, 46 State departments of education and 5 of the 6 trust territories plus the District of Columbia sent representatives. Nine state legislatures have passed career education legislation. Hundreds of publications on career education have been produced and distributed. At least 10 major national associations have endorsed career education. Career education programs have been initiated in almost one-third of the nation's 17,000 school districts. Career Education has been endorsed by both of the USOE Commissioners of Education - Dr. John O. Ottina and Dr. Terrel H. Bell–who have followed Dr. Marland in occupying that position. When P.L. 93-380 was passed and signed into law, in August 1974, career education became, for the first time in history, a mandate of the Congress of the United States. In October 1974, the United States Office of Education published an official policy paper on career education. Never has a call for educational change been adopted so fast in so many places with so few Federal dollars. In this sense, career education has truly broken all records.

In my opinion, Dr. Marland acted wisely in refusing to provide a single USOE definition of career education when he coined the term. Instead, he called for the meaning of career education to be forged in local, State, and national debate and actions. As a result, career education has been defined in a wide variety of ways by widely diverse segments of our society. It has sometimes seemed as though career education is viewed as an answer to almost any problem anyone could see facing American Education. For awhile, career education seemed to be perceived as a panacea for all the ills of our educational system. This was dangerous and unwise. That is, anything regarded as a panacea is almost surely doomed to become a matter of over promise and under delivery.

Fortunately, some strong and common threads seem to be evolving with reference to the need for, nature of, and methods to be utilized in implementing career education. It is time that these common threads be identified and discussed in ways that are clear to the general public. Career education is a crusade for change in our entire system of American Education. Unlike some previous calls for change, career educations's crusade cannot succeed if only educators are involved in the effort. The changes called for by career education involve the broader community as well as the system of education. The public has a right to know and a responsibility to act in the career education concept.

In attempting to provide such knowledge as a basis for action, three topics must be considered: (a) the need for career education; (b) the nature of career education; (c) the actions required for implementation of career education. The remainder of this presentation will be devoted to a discussion of these three topics.

The Need For Career Education

Two basic, and related societal needs lie behind the career education movement. One is the need to clarify and emphasize relationships between education and work for all persons. The second is the need to make work a more meaningful part of the total lifestyle of all persons. Each of these needs can be pictured in terms of both society as a whole and in terms of individuals in the society.

American Education has produced a relatively few individuals whose efforts have changed the entire occupational structure. The rise of technology has increased the need for persons with specific occupational skills and dramatically reduced the need for unskilled labor. In addition, and equally important, it has resulted in a rapid rise in the rate of change in the occupational system. As a result, youth are faced with two problems which, to many, must appear to be contradictory in nature. First, they are told they must acquire some occupational skills that can be used to enter the labor market. Second, they are told they must have adaptability skills that will enable them to change with further changes in the world of paid employment. It is no wonder that many appear confused and uncertain.

American education had done a good job in preparing a minority of its students both to cope with change and to be productive contributors to still greater change. We have not done a good job for the vast majority of our students–including many of our college graduates as well as many who leave the educational system at earlier levels. For the great majority of students, American Education's prime contribution seems to have been simply lengthening the number of years of schooling. While this has delayed, for most youth, the time at which they seek to enter the labor market, it has not helped greatly in the transition from school to work. One does not solve a problem by delaying the time at which the problem is faced.

The results of American Education's failure to clarify and emphasize relationships between education and work are apparent to all. They can be seen in the sickening stability of the ratio of youth to adult employment remaining at a level of 3 to 1. They can be seen in the complaints of employers that youth seeking jobs possess neither the basic academic skills, good work habits, or positive work attitudes that make for productive employees. They can be seen in the large numbers of youth who can see no relationships between what they learn in school and what they will do when they leave school. They can be seen in the large numbers of adults who, when faced with the need to change occupations, find themselves unequipped for doing so. In all these ways, the past failure of American Education to help all students understand and prepare for relationships between education and work are obvious. The need to change is equally obvious.

Important as it is, the need to clarify and act on the increasingly close relationships between education and work represents only the tip of the iceberg of needed change. At a deeper level, both employers and employees–both youth

and adult—both paid and volunteer workers—seem to be looking for greater meaning and meaningfulness from work as part of their total lifestyle. Productivity, expressed as output per man hour, has become a matter of national and international concern. Too many workers seem to endure their jobs rather than gain personal satisfaction from their work. They come to work as late as possible, do as little as possible, and look forward to the time the work day is over. The result is described in the popular literature as "worker alienation." Debate continues regarding whether worker alienation is due to worker qualities or job conditions. The answer, of course, is that both have been involved. There is a crying need to curtail the debate and move toward solution. Career education is part of that movement toward solution.

The proportion of one's life spent in paid employment is declining. As this occurs, the need for individuals to find meaning and meaningfulness in their leisure time increases. It is especially important for those who fail to find such meaningfulness in the world of paid employment. Yet, far too many seem to be regarding the word "leisure" as synonomous with the word "play." Persons with nothing to do very seldom do nothing. It seems obvious that many of our current societal problems have stemmed from our unwillingness and/or inability to concentrate attention on how to help individuals gain a greater sense of self worth and meaning through their leisure time. Career education also seeks to contribute to solutions to these problems.

The Nature of Career Education

The core of the career education concept is centered around a four letter word—"work." There is consensus, though far from universal agreement, among career education leaders at the local, State, and national levels that this is so. The negative connotations associated with the word "work," in the minds of many, make it essential that its meaning, as used in career education, be discussed here.

"Work" is conscious effort, other than activities whose primary purpose is either coping or relaxation, aimed at producing benefits for oneself and/or for oneself and others. In this context, the word "work" is distinguished from the word "labor" by the fact that it represents a purpose chosen by the individual. This definition can be used to cover the world of paid employment. It also applies to the work of the full-time homemaker, the volunteer worker, work performed as part of one's leisure time, and the work of the student as a learner. Its key words are "conscious," "effort," "producing," and "benefits."

The single most important understanding to be derived from this definition is its implications of personal meaningfulness for the individual. This is rooted in the basic human need of all human beings to become someone through doing something. It is the need to do—to achieve—to accomplish that is emphasized in this definition.

The word "work," as defined here, is not a societal obligation. Rather, it is more correctly viewed as a human right of all human beings. In a very real sense, it is the right of each individual to discover both *who* she or he is and *why* she or

he exists through *what* she or he is able to accomplish. It is obviously related both to society's need for productivity and the individual's need for a personal meaningfulness in life. As used in career education, "work" is a good word–an individual opportunity, not a societal burden.

In career education, the word "career" is defined as the totality of work one does in his or her lifetime. Thus, the "careers" of most persons begin prior to entering kindergarten and continue well into the retirement years. One can change occupations, jobs, or positions, but one's "career" doesn't change. Rather, it evolves and develops.

In career education, the word "education" is defined as the totality of activities and experiences through which one learns. While it includes "schooling," it extends beyond what is learned in a formal classroom setting through the efforts of persons called "teachers."

Thus, "career education" itself can be generically defined as a combination of the two words "career" and "education" to mean all of those activities and experiences through which one learns about and prepares oneself for work.

The societal goals of career education are to help each individual want to work, acquire the skills necessary for work, and engage in work that is satisfying to the individual and beneficial for society. The individualistic goals of career education are to make work possible, meaningful, and satisfying for each individual. Viewed from either a societal or from an individualistic sense, "work" is the central core of the career education concept.

Implementing Career Education

Two key words–"infusion" and "collaboration"–underlie efforts to implement career education. The word "infusion" is used to represent attempts, *within* the formal system of Education, to make education, as preparation for work, both a prominent and a permanent goal of all who teach and of all who learn. The work "collaboration" is used to represent involvement *among* educators, the business-labor-industry-professional-government community, and the home and family structure in career education. Both words correctly imply a number of major and significant changes.

Infusion changes–those internal within the education system itself–take many forms. They include the following:

a. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward emphasizing career implications of subject matter. Hopefully, this will motivate students to learn more subject matter–including the basic skills of reading, mathematics, and communication.
b. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward emphasizing good work habits–including good study habits. Hopefully, such an emphasis will contribute both to increasing academic achievement and to the use of good work habits in work done after leaving the education system.

c. A change beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward emphasizing the process of career development—including career awareness, career exploration, career motivation, career decision making, career preparation, and career entry. Hopefully, this will increase career options for all students and lead toward more reasoned career decisions.

d. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward using performance evaluation as one means of measuring student accomplishments. Hopefully, this will aid the student in discovering what she or he can do and has done—how she or he has succeeded as a result of work. This, in turn, should help make work a more personally meaningful experience for each student and, as a result, help each student clarify her or his own personal work values.

e. A change, beginning in the secondary school and continuing through postsecondary education, toward recognizing the need to increase the quantity, quality, and variety of vocational and technical education options offered all students. Hopefully, this will put our educational offerings more in line with real occupational opportunities. Additionally, it should help in opening up opportunities for college-bound students to sample vocational education offerings and for vocational education students to elect some courses typically reserved for the college bound. This should, in turn, greatly reduce tracking.

These kinds of changes should make it clear that career education is for all students, that it is not limited to the K-12 levels of education, and that it will demand changes in the operational patterns and attitudes of all educators. Important as these changes are, they will not, by themselves, result in effective career education unless a set of collaborative activities are added to these kinds of infusion efforts.

Among the collaborative efforts needed between the education system and the business-labor-industry-professional-government community, the following are particularly crucial and important:

a. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward using personnel from the world of work outside of education as resource persons in the classroom and as consultants to educational personnel. Hopefully, this will help both teachers and students become more aware of the world of work, the career implications of subject matter, and of the wide variety of work values currently operating in our society.

b. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing through college education, toward providing observational, work experience, and work-study opportunities to students and to those who educate students—to teachers, counselors, and school administrators. Hopefully, this will create a "third world" for students that will provide them with the kinds of knowledge and experiences that will allow them to make a more effective transition from the world of schooling to the world of work outside education.

c. A change, beginning in the secondary school and continuing through college education, toward establishing and operating, in collaboration with school personnel, job placement programs for school leavers. This includes the use of personnel from the world of work outside of education in teaching students job seeking, job getting, and job holding skills. Hopefully, this will provide some help in reducing the current high rate of youth unemployment.

The home and family structure represents a critical and crucial part of the collaborative effort required for effective career education. Much of career education's concerns center around student attitudes, work values, and career decisions. These are matters that are, and should be, heavily influenced by parents. Among the many ways in which we ask parents to join this collaborative effort, the following are especially important:

a. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing at least through Grade 12, toward using parents as role models for particular occupational life styles through their presence in the classroom and/or through materials and information they supply for use in the classroom. Hopefully, in addition to providing valuable information, this will also help parents view themselves and their work in a more positive light. This, in turn, should help parents visit with their children in a more positive fashion about work.

b. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing at least through Grade 12, toward helping both parents and children view the home as, in part, a kind of work place—as a place where all family members work, not just the mother. Hopefully, this will illustrate and reenforce the kinds of good work habits and positive work values school career education programs seek to provide. At the very least, it should help avoid negating the school's efforts.

c. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing at least through Grade 12, toward involving parents to a greater degree and in a more positive fashion in the career development of their children. This includes encouraging students to discuss career problems and tentative career choices with their parents as well as encouraging more contacts between parents and career guidance personnel in the schools. Hopefully, this will enable schools, parents, and students to work together in expanding career options open to students in ways that will protect freedom of choice for students and avoid forcing any premature occupational decisions.

d. A change, beginning in the elementary school and continuing at least through Grade 12, toward involving parents and school personnel in emphasizing the constructive and positive values of work in one's leisure time. Hopefully, this, too, will help students in the process of full career development.

These three elements of society—the formal educational system, the business-labor-industry-professional-government community, and the home and

family structure—must collaborate if the need for and the promises of career education are to be fulfilled. Hopefully, in every community, there will be established a Community Career Education Coordinating Council charged with policy decisions for career education. Representation should be present from all three of these societal elements. It will be particularly crucial that students themselves are represented on this Council.

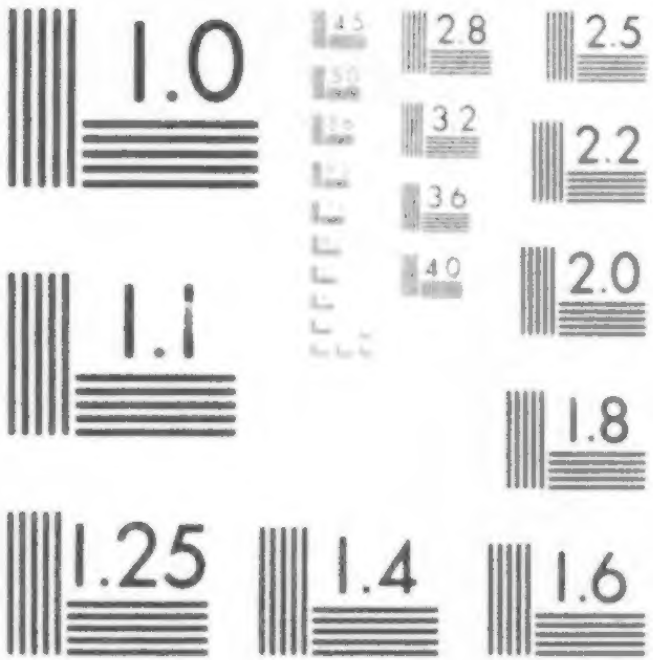
Two practical questions remain: (a) How much will it cost? and (b) What are its chances of working? A few comments on both questions is in order here.

There is no doubt but that career education will cost some money. The largest single cost will be inservice education of educational personnel. The second largest cost will be for someone to "ramrod" the career education effort. Other costs will include those for materials, for the kinds of collaborative efforts I have described, and for financial assistance needed by low-income persons in order to implement their career decisions. Whether such costs represent additions to the education budget or a re-alignment of existing budgets is a question yet to be answered in any single fashion.

The greatest cost required for career education is not measured in dollars. Rather, it will be measured in effort and commitments on the part of those who work to make career education effective. Surely, it will take time and that does represent a cost. How we each choose to spend our time and energies is the really crucial question of cost facing career education.

Will career education work? The answer will obviously vary from place to place. No one ever said it will be easy—and it won't be. No one ever said that all teachers, all businessmen, all parents, or all students will endorse or participate in a career education effort. It will be easy for each of us to immediately think of many individuals we know who are very unlikely to participate effectively in career education. If we build our plans around probable failures, our chances for success are very small indeed. I would rather build plans on a positive basis by looking for resources to make it work rather than obstacles that will prevent it from working.

Finally, no one has said that, if implemented fully and effectively, youth problems of transition from school to work would disappear. We have said that career education can make a positive contribution toward solving such problems. If given a chance, it will help some. I am convinced of that. I ask that you give it that chance.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

CAREER EDUCATION: WHAT's DOABLE NOW?

The career education movement has been moderately successful in gaining public understanding and support of its two basic goals which are: (1) to help all individuals understand and capitalize on the increasingly complex and changing relationships between education and work; and (2) to make work become a more personally meaningful part of the total lifestyle of all individuals. While, to be sure, large segments of our population have still never heard the term "career education," those who have heard and understood these goals have generally endorsed them.

The broad and ambitious nature of these two goals stands as a certain guarantee that they will not be attained quickly nor easily. Faced with the many obvious societal disparities between current conditions in our society and these lofty goals, it is not surprising that questions such as the following are being asked with increasing frequency:

1. How do you expect to change the common mistaken perceptions of the general public regarding the meaning of education, of "work," and of relationships between education and work?
2. How do you expect educational systems to initiate and carry out the kinds of major reform called for by career education in these times when education budgets are being cut and no new major Federal aid to education is being proposed?
3. How do you expect to reduce youth unemployment when its causes are rooted in conditions over which education has little or no control?
4. How can you expect work to become "meaningful" and "satisfying" when so many de-humanizing jobs exist and must continue to exist in the world of paid employment?

Such questions, reflecting a concern that career education may be a crusade of over-promise and under-delivery, are often accompanied by major and sweeping proposals for societal reform including such things as:

1. Creation of a system of public service jobs so that all who seek to work are guaranteed employment.
2. Creation of an educational voucher system guaranteeing each individual from 4 to 7 years of postsecondary education to be utilized, as seen fit by the individual, during his or her adult life.
3. Creation of a system of guaranteed accurate and up-to-date system of local labor market situations and occupational outlook.
4. Creation of a complete system of performance evaluation in education leading to abolishment of the Carnegie unit and the false credentialism resulting from over-reliance on degrees.
5. Revision of existing manpower, employment service, welfare, and education legislation in ways that will re-allocate Federal funds so as to emphasize a national education/work initiative.
6. Revision of existing child labor laws so as to permit a wider range of work experience opportunities for youth.

7. Creation of a national system, including appropriate financial incentives, aimed at encouraging American industry to humanize conditions in the work place.

These, and many other major reform proposals, are currently being championed by some and debated by others across the land. To the extent that such proposals can be converted into effective action programs having positive impact on the two broad goals of career education, it seems likely that many career education proponents may be supportive of them. At the same time, it seems both unwise and unproductive to wait until some or all such major reforms have come about prior to any attempts to implement the career education concept as it presently exists. Quite an opposite strategy would seem to be in order. That is, if, given the practical limitations imposed by the realities of today, we can begin to move toward effective delivery of career education, it may serve to be the most effective possible stimulus for encouraging positive acceptance of more radical reform measures.

Career education is a concept calling for a philosophy of "possible change now." It is, in a very real sense, an attempt to operate in an atmosphere of pragmatic idealism. It is a movement that values improvement in situations where we know perfection is still not attainable. As such, it subscribes to a point of view that holds it is better to do what can be done than to do nothing at all.

Given this point of view, three questions seem appropriate to ask: (1) What are the current strengths of career education that lead us to believe it can be effective? (2) What can communities do now to initiate a career education effort? and (3) How ready are we to move toward full implementation of the career education concept? This presentation will be aimed at providing brief answers to these three questions.

Current Strengths of Career Education

What strengths, and hopes, does career education bring to us as we enter the 1975-76 school year? Stated another way, why should any community consider initiating a career education effort, or expanding on its past efforts, at this time? Several positive factors are immediately apparent.

1. The educational and societal needs to which career education seeks to respond have been well documented. These needs are real. They can no longer be ignored. Career education represents one clear response to the call for change reflected in these needs. (Herr & Kramer, 1975).

2. Basic elements in the career education concept have been identified. The degree of consensus, among leading career education practitioners, administrators, and conceptualizers, is extremely high. The term "career education" carries a clear conceptual meaning. (Hoyt, 1974a).

3. The conceptual base of career education, using the word "work" as its core, is one that can be made applicable to all persons, of all ages, in all

educational settings, and in all communities. This, of course, is not to say that it will appeal to all, but only that it is a concept that can be logically considered and discussed by all.

4. The career education concept has been endorsed by a greater variety and a greater number of leading national organizations, both within and outside of formal education, than any other current call for educational reform now in existence. The list of organizations participating in a recent publication on career education published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States contains a partial listing as one example. (Chamber of Commerce of the USA, 1975.)

5. Career education, with passage of P.L. 93-380 in 1974, became a part of the law of the land. In addition to this Federal legislation, ten State legislatures have enacted career education legislation. More than 30 State boards of education have adopted official career education policy positions and more than 40 State departments of education have appointed one or more persons as State coordinators of career education.

6. Career education has emerged primarily as a local, rather than as a State or Federal initiative. With fewer than 300 Federally-funded career education programs, it has been reported, by the Council of Chief State School Officers, that over 5,000 local school districts (of 17,000 in the USA) have initiated some kind of career education effort.

7. "How-to-do-it" examples abound for those interested in initiating career education efforts at the K-12 level. Examples are readily available. Where career education efforts have been evaluated, results have been generally positive. (OCE, 1974), (Hoyt, 1975a).

8. Career education demonstration efforts are currently aimed at demonstrating the most effective career education methods and procedures at the K-12 levels, and the viability of career education both at the postsecondary level and for special segments of the population. Such demonstrations should produce further evidence of the viability and effectiveness of career education.

9. The Education and Work Task Force at the National Institute of Education is continuing its strong efforts to support a program of basic research required for the long-run effectiveness of career education.

10. Where career education efforts have been initiated, they do not appear to be dropped because they were unsuccessful or disliked. In general, the pattern has been one of growth, not abandonment.

These ten conditions, collectively, represent what, to me, seems a solid rationale justifying an expression of interest in career education on the part of any educational system and by any community.

Initiating Community Career Education Efforts

Based on what we have learned from earlier attempts to initiate career education, a number of basic "ground rules" seem to have emerged. Such "ground rules" can be translated into a series of suggestions for those

communities now wishing to consider career education. Those suggestions that currently seem most important and appropriate to me include:

1. Secure, study, and debate current literature describing the need for, nature of, and methodologies essential for implementing career education. Do *not* limit such study to professional educators. Leaders from the business-labor-industry-professional community and parents should be involved in decisions because, if career education is to be implemented, they will have key, collaborative roles to play. Do not begin without some kind of community consensus. A school board policy supporting and calling for career education must be a first step.

2. While recognizing the necessity for collaborative involvement, organize initial career education efforts in ways that emphasize the central importance of the classroom teacher and the teaching-learning process. The first order of concern should be centered around efforts to reduce worker alienation, among both students and teachers, in ways that will improve educational productivity—i.e., academic achievement.

3. Establish a Community Career Education Council. Such a Council should have representatives from the formal education system, from the student body, from the business-labor-industry-professional community, and from the home and family structure. It should be empowered and encouraged to formulate and recommend policies to the school board with respect to such matters as use of community resource persons in the classroom, field trips, work experience opportunities, use of community resources for career education, and placement.

4. Collect as much material as possible from other communities who have already initiated career education. Select promising ideas that you want to try. Use such materials to invent a career education approach uniquely suited to your community.

5. Recognize and provide for meeting teacher needs for in-service education in career education. Do not expect that teachers can or will devise effective career education strategies in their "spare time." A minimum of three to five days of in-service education for teachers must be provided.

6. Recognize the necessity for and encourage the strengthening of the quality and variety of both vocational-technical education and career guidance, counseling, placement, and follow up. Unless this is done, career education cannot hope to succeed.

7. Emphasize the equal importance of both adaptability skills and job specific skills in the total career education effort. It is fully as important to prepare students to change as it is to prepare them to enter the world of paid employment. It is vital that the importance of both academic and vocational education, as preparation for work, be emphasized.

8. Emphasize both the importance of paid and unpaid work in the career education effort. Helping persons make productive use of leisure time is equally as important as helping persons be productive in the world of paid employment.

9. Recognize and utilize currently existing efforts in the community involved in helping youth understand and capitalize on relationships between education and work—including such groups as Junior Achievement, Explorer Scouts,

NABS, NAIEC, State employment services, efforts of the all-volunteer armed forces, vocational youth clubs, and church youth groups. Rather than compete, or attempt to substitute for such efforts, capitalize on their existence and involve them in the total collaborative efforts of career education. Remember, we care not at all who gets credit for helping, but only about how much help persons receive.

10. Appoint a career education coordinator. Something that is the job of "everyone" becomes the work of no one unless somebody is around to encourage the efforts of all. Whether the coordinator is full-time or part-time, paid or unpaid, a member of the school staff or a person from the community, is not so important as that someone occupy this role. In addition to coordination responsibilities, that person should assume responsibility for collecting and disseminating evidence relative to the effectiveness of the career education effort.

These ten suggestions call primarily for an investment of effort, not for an investment of money. True, both Suggestion No. 5 and Suggestion No. 10 carry financial implications. If funds cannot be found for use in carrying out these two suggestions, the necessary degree of community enthusiasm for and commitment essential to career education's success is probably not present and it would be better to delay action until conditions change. That is the way it looks to me at this point in time.

Current Readiness for Implementation of the Career Education Concept

Increasingly, persons are asking for changes in current career education legislation, in the form of Federal laws, that would move OE from a demonstration mode to a programmatic implementation mode. There appears to be many who are saying, in effect, "We have already demonstrated our ability to deliver career education. What we now need is financial assistance to pay part of the additional costs required for making career education operational."

The official position of the United States Office of Education, on this matter, is that the Congress was wise in passing a demonstration, rather than a programmatic implementation, type of legislation in 1974. As an OE employee, I am obligated to support and defend this position. To do so in no way precludes an open and frank discussion on this question.

It seems appropriate to me, with respect to any kind of legislation, to ask and answer affirmatively four basic questions with respect to readiness for programmatic implementation of an educational concept, method, or procedure. These are:

1. Has the educational system demonstrated a need for this idea and is there evidence that it is desired by professional educators?

2. Has the concept, method, or procedure been demonstrated in enough places, with enough variability, so that there is reason to believe it could be readily modified so as to fit into existing educational practice?

3. Is there hard data demonstrating the worth and effectiveness of the method, concept, or practice leading to justifying an assertion that, if put into common practice, the quality of education would be likely to improve?

4. Is there reason to believe that, if Federal assistance were provided, it would likely be over-matched with State and/or local funds to such an extent that the Federal share would be relatively small?

Let me make it clear that these are *my* questions, not an expression of official OE policy. I present them here in order that you may know the basis on which I would answer questions raised with reference to readiness for implementation. I hope that you can join with me in considering these four questions to be based on both reality and professional concern. I raise them in an effort to be helpful, not discouraging.

It is immediately obvious that different persons, depending on their personal biases, would demand different amounts and kinds of evidence before being willing to respond affirmatively to any of these questions. Those most eager to move toward full implementation are likely to be content with much less evidence than those opposed. Thus, even if the questions are put in an objective form, the answers given are bound to be heavily tinged with subjective judgements.

My personal judgement on these matters is at least as subjectively biased as that of others. As of now, my thinking would lead me to the following positions:

1. I believe a case could be made for a point of view that we are now ready to implement career education at the K-12 level. In my opinion, that case will (at least it *should*) be much stronger when the incremental quality improvement projects currently funded by the OCE are completed.

2. I believe we are at least one year away from being ready to implement career education in pre-service teacher education programs. While both interest and expertise in this area is increasing rather rapidly at the present time, we have not yet reached a stage where programmatic implementation efforts, on a wide scale, can be justified.

3. I believe we are at least three years away from being ready to implement career education in total institutional programs at the postsecondary school level–including both community colleges and the four-year collegiate settings. While some interest is evident, expertise and evidence of effectiveness is still largely lacking.

4. I believe we are several years away from being ready to implement career education, on a nationwide scale, for such special segments of the population as low-income persons, minorities, and for the gifted and talented. Part of my reason for this belief stems from the need for considerable more demonstration of best methods and procedures. An even stronger part of my reasoning stems from what seems to me to be an obvious need for much more financial support than currently seems to be available if we were to attempt such nationwide implementation.

In stating these beliefs, it is essential that I make clear I am expressing only my own personal views, not any official position of the United States Office of Education. As of now, there exists no formal USOE position on the specific points I have just discussed. If and when an official USOE position is formulated on these specific points, I will, of course, support it and do my best to defend it.

Concluding Remarks

The primary purpose of this presentation has been to put career education, as it currently exists, in some perspective with reference to broader and more far-reaching proposals for dealing with the education/work dilemma in the United States. In so doing, I have pictured career education as a movement that operates under a "possible change" philosophy. I have tried to picture what seem to me to represent the current strengths of career education along with a set of action steps that could be undertaken in any community interested in initiating a career education effort. Finally, I conclude with a few personal observations regarding our current readiness to move, on a nationwide scale, from a demonstration to a programmatic implementation mode in career education.

In all of these matters, I have tried to present the current picture in a form that I hope is both clear and honest. If, by doing so, I have stimulated you to think more deeply about your own position on these matters, my purpose will have been served.

CAREER EDUCATION AND THE MARSHMALLOW PRINCIPLE

"Principles," unlike "laws" or "maxims," do not always hold true. Still, because they do have wide applicability, they are useful in helping those faced with day-to-day operational problems view such problems in a broader context. The career education effort, at this stage in its conceptual evolution, is badly in need of such a basic guiding principle. Thus, I have decided to invent one and to seek to discover the degree to which it meets with acceptance.

For reasons which, hopefully, will soon become obvious, I have chosen to call this new principle the "Marshmallow Principle." This principle can be stated in the following manner: *External pressure exerted on an organization to change its basic structure will, for as long as that pressure is applied, cause the organization's structure to bend and assume a new shape. Once the pressure is removed, the organization will reassume its original shape. Basic change in organizational structure is accomplished only when the key functionaries within that organization make an internal commitment to change.*

When the "Marshmallow Principle" is applied to that organization referred to as American education, it should be immediately apparent that it speaks to the need for internal changes in commitment among professional educators. Moreover, since the great bulk of professional educators are classroom teachers, the importance of "teacher power," if this principle holds, cannot be over-emphasized. It is my firm belief that, if any basic change is to come to American education, it will grow out of changes in the professional commitments of classroom teachers. Unless that change can be seen in the classroom, it is *not* real change.

Career education, from the outset, has been pictured as a reform movement in American education. The basic reform being sought is one aimed at making education, *as preparation for work*, a major (although not an exclusive) goal of all who teach and of all who learn at all levels of American education. In championing this basic purpose as a basis for reform, career education has contended that, if it can be accomplished, American education will better serve both the needs of individual students and the needs of the larger society. As a reform movement, career education aims at accomplishing permanent change in the fabric, structure, and operation of American education. It is, in no way, a plea for temporary accommodation to a series of current, short-range, problems.

In this paper, an attempt will be made to illustrate how the "Marshmallow Principle" is being accommodated in the basic strategies for accomplishing change embodied in the career education concept. To do so demands that other attempts to increase education/work relationships be recognized and contrasted with career education. Following this, the basic conceptual strategy for effecting change through career education will be described. Finally, a plea will be made for continuing collaborative efforts on behalf of career education.

Other Current Attempts to Improve Education/Work Relationships

The call to improve relationships between the "world of schooling" and the "world of paid employment" did not originate with invention of the term "career education." For several years, a wide variety of agencies and organizations have initiated and operated systematic, national efforts aimed at helping youth make a more successful transition from school to work. Both their efforts and their contributions have been, and continue to be, positive and significant. Viewed in one way, each can be considered an attempt to move toward implementation of career education's goals–and so to become part of the career education movement. Viewed in another way, it can be said that career education seeks to create conditions, within formal education, which will help each of these efforts become even more effective in the future than it has been in the past.

The list of possible organizations and agencies being referred to here would, if chronicled completely, be very long indeed. Rather than attempt to make such a complete listing, the following names will illustrate the kinds of efforts being referred to here:

1. Junior Achievement
2. National Alliance of Businessmen
3. Boy Scouts of America (including Explorer Scouts)
4. Girl Scouts of America
5. National Association for Industry-Education Cooperation
6. Young Women's Christian Association
7. Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America
8. General Electric Company
9. American Telephone & Telegraph Company
10. National service clubs (Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions)
11. National Council of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
12. National Council of Churches

Each of these, and many additional organizations outside the structure of formal education, have initiated and currently operate programs aimed at helping youth understand and capitalize on the changing relationships between education and work. Within the national government structure, important and major efforts, aimed at this same broad goal, have been launched and continue to operate under the auspices of both the Department of Labor and the Department of Defense.

For obvious and, in a democracy such as the USA, *very important* reasons, none of these efforts have been aimed at the reform of American education itself. Instead, each is more properly viewed as an attempt to *cooperate* with education, in providing resources and/or training opportunities, to professional educators. Their primary efforts have correctly concentrated on increasing the availability of data and resources needed by youth in career development and in the transition from school to work. While each has probably hoped that its

efforts would also result in internal changes within educators, this has not, by and large, been their primary goal.

At this point in time, each of these organizations has three broad options with respect to career education: (a) career education could be ignored and the organization could continue to operate "as usual"; (b) career education could be perceived as an internal effort of education to do what the organization had been trying to do for years—and thus as excuse for the organization to cease its own operations in this area; or (c) the organization could elect to move, through career education, from a *cooperative* to a *collaborative* relationship with formal education. Those of us in career education very much hope the third option will be selected for use.

Within the structure of formal education itself, previous efforts to emphasize, and to help students capitalize on the changing education/work relationships have been largely limited to vocational education programs at the secondary school level, to vocational-technical programs at the postsecondary, sub-baccalaureate degree level, and to programs of professional preparation at the college and university level. In recent years, these efforts have been supplemented by an increased emphasis on various forms of work experience and a renewed emphasis on providing career guidance, counseling, placement, and follow up services to students. Like the external organizations and agencies mentioned above, these efforts, while important and successful in emphasizing the education/work area as one of major importance, have not succeeded in changing the basic nature and goals of American education for the system as a whole.

While applauding and supporting such "internal" efforts, career education has raised such questions as the following in its efforts to stimulate basic educational reform: (a) why should *only* vocational education be considered as "hire" education? (b) why should career guidance be considered as a unique function of professional counselors? (c) why should education, as preparation for work, be limited to *paid* employment? (d) why should "work experience" be considered a program for a minority of students instead of a general educational methodology available to all students? and (e) why should not education, as preparation for work, be as concerned about providing students with *adaptability* skills required to help them cope with change as it is with providing students with *job specific* skills that will help them gain initial entry into the occupational society?

As with the kinds of external organizations previously discussed, these "internal" elements within formal education have a number of options with respect to career education including: (a) ignoring career education and hoping it will go away; (b) competing with career education and proclaiming themselves as more important; or (c) becoming an integral and essential part of career education as a reform movement. Those of us in career education have operated under an assumption that the third of these options will be the one selected.

Strategies for Educational Reform Through Career Education

Had educational reform been the goal, it should be obvious that both the "external" and the "internal" efforts described above have illustrated the possible negative consequences specified in the "Marshmallow Principle." Career education is dedicated to accomplishing educational reform, and so to emphasizing the positive potential for accomplishing change enunciated in the "Marshmallow Principle." To do so, career education has adopted a number of basic strategies for attaining change. While none can be adequately discussed here, each can be specified and briefly described.

Strategy 1: Use public opinion polls and research data illustrating current youth problems and societal need as a rational for reform. Such data are in plentiful supply. They clearly indicate a desire on the part of youth, parents, the business-labor-industry community, and the general public for education to increase its emphasis on education as preparation for work. Both the need and the call for this approach to educational reform is clear and strong. This strategy has, hopefully, made clear that career education is more than a "new fad" which will soon disappear, through its emphasis on the *growing* problems associated with education/work relationships that are certain to increase in the years ahead.

Strategy 2: Emphasize the system-wide need for career education. The career education concept has been purposely pictured in ways that apply to education at every level, in every State, in every educational institution, and to every educator. While the nature and degree of reform will obviously vary, there is no part of American education that can remain untouched if reform of the system is to be accomplished.

Strategy 3: Utilize an infusion approach to reform. Real reform cannot be attained through a strategy of "add ons" that leave the rest of the system "as is." Thus, career education has not asked to become a new educational specialty, a new part of the curriculum, nor a new program requiring extensive additions of space and new staff members. Instead, the strategy has been to reform current educators and current educational programs through infusing a conscious emphasis on education, as preparation for work, throughout the entire system of formal education.

Strategy 4: Don't try to "take over" all of education. There is a huge difference between emphasizing that education, as preparation for work, represents a goal applicable to *all* educators as contrasted with claiming this to be the *only* goal of education. In championing its particular goal, career education has purposely sought to avoid demeaning or detracting from other worthy goals of education. Rather, it has sought, as part of reform, to instill a sense of purpose and purposiveness among all persons—teachers and students alike—in ways that will emphasize the multiple goals of American education.

Strategy 5: Emphasize "work," but do so in humanistic terms. If career education is to represent a viable response to those calling for educational reform, it must centralize its conceptual efforts around the word, "work." If career education is to appeal to today's educators, it must be perceived in a humanistic form. Rather than viewing this as an unsolvable dilemma, career education has attempted to re-define "work" in humanistic terms related to the human need of all human beings to *do*—to *accomplish*—to *produce*—to *achieve*. This effort has allowed unpaid work, as well as the entire world of paid employment, to be included in the career education concept. Moreover, it has allowed all educators multiple ways of relating work to their substantive instructional content.

Strategy 6: Organize career education efforts around the process of career development. Career development, as part of human growth and development, covers the entire life span—from the pre-school through the retirement years. Moreover, it encompasses *all* persons. Finally, it is based in a combination of philosophy and research that emphasizes freedom of choice for the individual. It is the most logical of all possible ways of viewing the total spectrum of education/work relationships.

Strategy 7: Implement career education primarily around the teaching/learning process. Until and unless classroom teachers change their approach to the teaching/learning process, there can be no basic reform in American education. Career education has avoided an approach that asks teachers to add more content to an already over-crowded curriculum. Instead, it has centered on the teacher's primary responsibility—i.e., the imparting of substantive content—and asked "how can the total resources of the community be brought to bear on helping students learn more?" and "how can the substantive content you teach be related to work?"

The essential strategy utilized by career education is one of attempting to reduce worker alienation, on the part of both teachers and students, by increasing the personal autonomy of the teacher, by expanding the variety of learning approaches and learning resources available to the teacher, and by recognizing that both teachers and students are more creative, innovative, and dedicated than the "educational assembly line" has given them credit for being. It is a strategy which, when understood by teachers, appears to work.

Strategy 8: Allow teachers the time and the opportunity to be creative. Career education has sought neither to provide teachers with "canned" approaches to career education nor to force them to use a career education approach. Rather than invest heavily in new specialists or new materials, career education has made its primary investment in providing teachers with the time to think critically and constructively about how career education can help each teacher better attain his/her objectives. Teachers do not have "spare" time. Change—real change—will not come to the classroom if it is ordered by the

administration. Teachers need the time and the opportunity to make their own professional decisions. They are very capable of doing so given such opportunities.

Strategy 9: Allow teachers to "sell" themselves on career education. Career education subscribes to the "15-70-15" philosophy that holds it is reasonable to expect about 15% of teachers will become enthusiastic almost immediately, about 15% will reject any new ideas forever, while the remaining 70% will remain as professional skeptics until they have been given time to think it through for themselves. Career education has sought to capitalize on the 15% who are "enthusiastic supporters" and to use them as the primary role models for helping the 70% become similarly enthusiastic. The kinds of change we seek will not come rapidly.

Strategy 10: Provide key roles in career education for all professionals in education. It is hard to be opposed to something if you are a vital part of it. Key and crucial roles in career education, in addition to that outlined for classroom teachers, have been outlined for counselors, school administrators, media specialists, and all other professional educators. Each is being asked to change, as part of the reform attempt, in ways that emphasize helping teachers better serve students. There is no part of American education that is not being asked to change.

Strategy 11: Recognize the importance of collaboration. Educational reform cannot be accomplished if the only motivation to change is from the "inside." Moreover, an essential element in the kind of reform advocated by career education is greater use of the total community as a learning resource—an abandonment of the false notion that the best way to prepare students for work is to lock them up in a school house and keep them away from it. Thus, from the outset, career education has said that this reform is not something educators can do by themselves. Instead, we have pictured career education as a collaborative effort involving the formal education system, the business-labor-industry-professional community, and the home and family structure. Collaboration, on the part of all three of these segments of society, is essential to the kind of reform envisioned by career education.

Collectively, these 11 strategies hold high potential for educational reform in America. If successful, career education will motivate professional educators—and the broader public—to decide, *for themselves*, to change the nature, structure, format, and delivery system of American education at *all* levels of education—from the pre-school years through the college, university, and adult education years. Career education is a concept built on the positive application of the "Marshmallow Principle."

Because of these 11 strategies, career education must pay the price of appearing, at times, to represent a series of paradoxes. For example, (a) Career education defies a simple definition and so will remain confusing in meaning to

many, *but* a variety of "places to touch the elephant" is inevitable in a movement that seeks reform of *all* of education; (b) Career education, because it does not depend on creation of a new breed of educational specialists for its success, runs the risk of being accused of having no "constituency" among educators, *but*, viewed as a movement involving all educators, it could be seen as having a larger constituency than education has ever known; (c) Career education, because it does not cost much money, runs the risk of being considered a low priority in education, *but* it is time people recognized that the importance of an educational concern cannot be honestly measured simply by counting the number of dollars required for its implementation; and (d) Career education, if successful, will help all previous external and internal approaches to the education/work dilemma, *but* it cannot be successful unless it has their full support and involvement.

Career education is willing to pay this price of appearing to be paradoxical. It is a price well worth paying if the kind of educational reform we seek can come about.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT: A REPLY TO GRUBB AND LAZERSON

Constructive criticism by knowledgeable opponents is crucial and helpful in the evolution of any new concept. The key word here is "constructive." Criticism based on inadequate understanding often leaves proponents of a concept in a position of defending themselves against false accusations. The article by Grubb and Lazerson appearing in the November 1975, issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* is filled with false perceptions of career education. It is essential that these false perceptions be corrected. That is the primary purpose of this presentation.

I have, in the last few weeks, responded to comments regarding this article appearing in two of this Nation's leading newspapers. In addition, I have written a formal reply identifying and correcting what I regard as the 33 most serious conceptual errors found in this article. That reply is being sent to the *Harvard Educational Review* in hopes they will consider its publication. Here, I would like to reply by categorizing these 33 errors in a series of only four topics. I can do so, of course, only from the standpoint of the position of the Office of Career Education, U.S. Office of Education. It is my hope that this reply will encourage others to express their own views.

The major errors of Grubb and Lazerson that I hope to correct here can be categorized under the following headings: (a) differences between career education and vocational education; (b) the concept of "work" in career education; (c) career education and postsecondary education; and (e) criteria for evaluation of career education. Brief comments regarding each appear to be in order.

Career Education and Vocational Education

Grubb and Lazerson, near the end of their article, state:

> But career education has little to offer in resolving these problems. Despite its assertions to the contrary, it is primarily a renewal and expansion of vocational education, a movement that has previously proven itself ineffective in reducing the gap between rich and poor, in enhancing school learning, in solving social and economic problems, and in improving the status of physical work (Pp. 472-473.)

This entire quote illustrates two points: (a) Grubb and Lazerson are failing to distinguish between career education and vocational education; and (b) they are directing major criticisms toward vocational education. Of these two points, I want here to respond only to the first. Vocational educators are perfectly capable of defending themselves against the second.

Almost from the inception of career education, leaders in both career education and vocational education have proclaimed that career education and vocational education, while mutually supportive of each other, are not the same thing. Differences between the two have been stated in many ways. Here, I

would like to summarize such differences as they appear in various official OE publications. It is my hope that, by listing all of these differences in one place, we may answer this false accusation once and for all.

1. Vocational education concerns itself primarily with a particular *segment* of students at the secondary and postsecondary, sub baccalaureate degree level. Career education concerns itself with *all* students at *all* levels of education.

2. Vocational education's primary concern is the world of paid employment. Career education is concerned about both paid employment and with unpaid work—including volunteerism, work of the homemaker, and work done as part of productive use of leisure time.

3. Vocational education places a primary substantive emphasis on specific job skills. Career education adds to this a substantive emphasis on adaptability skills required to help students cope with change.

4. Vocational education is rooted in the philosophy of vocationalism. Career education seeks to fuse the philosophy of vocationalism with the philosophy of humanism.

5. Vocational education is carried out primarily through the teaching/learning process. Career education seeks to fuse the teaching/learning process with the career development process.

6. Vocational education seeks to emphasize education, as preparation for work, by adding new kinds of programs to the curriculum. Career education seeks to emphasize education, as preparation for work, by adding an emphasis on internal changes in the professional commitments of all educators in ways that will encourage them to infuse such an emphasis in all classrooms.

This approach to stating the differences between vocational education and career education has been used for two equally important reasons. First, it should make obvious to all that clear and distinct differences do exist. Second, it should be obvious that career education seeks to *add* to the emphasis vocational education is already giving to education, as preparation for work. Career education is neither a substitute for nor a competitor to vocational education. Rather, career education regards vocational education as a necessary, but not a sufficient, mechanism for bringing a proper emphasis to the goal of education as preparation for work on the part of all who teach and all who learn at all levels of American education. Most vocational educators seem to agree—as evidenced by their strong support of career education.

The Concept of "Work" in Career Education

Grubb and Lazerson are particularly critical of the concept of "work" as used in career education. Their criticisms are illustrated in the following quotes from their article:

> The assumptions of career education about the nature of work and demand for labor are largely a myth. (p. 472)
>
> Career education's view of the moral benefits of work is incongruent with the nature of most jobs or the logic of corporate capitalism. (p. 473)

> Career educators have ignored mounting evidence that the particular jobs available in advanced capitalist economics lack the moral qualities attributed to work generally. (p. 465)
>
> Hence, the faith that the moral benefits of work can counteract a sense of individual aimlessness or a lack of attachment to social institutions is seriously misplaced. In fact, given the negative aspects of most jobs, the introduction of "real work" in the schools might have just the opposite effect from that intended: feelings of alienation, anomie, and disconnectedness, or physical manifestations such as hypertension, high blood pressure, and poor mental health might begin earlier. (p. 466)

In making these assertions, Grubb and Lazerson are obviously attacking both career education's concept of "work" and the nature of America's current occupational society as it exists under our capitalistic system. As with their attack on vocational education, I must leave to others more expert than I to answer the accusations raised regarding our capitalistic society. However, before doing so, let me acknowledge that it is true that career education does operate under assumptions of great and abiding faith in this system. While we know it is imperfect and in need of change, we much prefer it to any other economic system available in the world today. Having said this, let me proceed to attempt a defense of the concept of "work" as used in career education.

The USOE policy paper, *An Introduction to Career Education*, defines work as:

> "conscious effort, other than that involved in activities whose primary purpose is either coping or relaxation, aimed at producing benefits for oneself or for oneself and others."

The four key words in this definition are:

"conscious"–which means it is something the individual *chose* to do

"effort"–which means some necessary degree of difficulty is involved

"produce"–which means that some clear outcome is sought

"benefit"–which means the outcome is designed to help, not hurt, people

This definition obviously is intended to cover the world of paid employment as well as unpaid work. This is not to say that career education assumes that all persons will find "work" in the world of paid employment. We are well aware of the fact that, for many, "labor," not "work," is what is experienced most days. The fact that this is so has nothing to do with the importance of work in meeting the human need of all human beings to do–to achieve–to accomplish–to produce. That is why career education places a primary emphasis on a "success" approach to the teaching/learning relationship–why we emphasize helping individuals recognize and realize what they have *done*, not what they have failed to do. It is also related to our insistance that unpaid work, as well as paid employment, must be included in the definition of "work." If the human

need to work cannot be found in the world of paid employment, then ways must be found to meet that need through productive use of leisure time.

Our emphasis on "work" is intended to reflect our concern for helping all individuals find purpose and purposiveness–meaning and meaningfulness–in their lives through recognizing that they have been able to *do*. We believe that any individual is best known to himself/herself and to others through what he/she has been able to accomplish. We are convinced that this basic sense of purposiveness and of meaningfulness is, today, missing in the lives of many Americans–both youth and adults. We further believe that, if the concept of "work" can be made apparent and real to children at an early age through a career education approach in the classroom, it will have "carry over" effect into the world of paid employment.

In short, we in career education have placed our primary trust in the individual–not in either the economic system nor in the political society. If we are successful in our efforts to help individuals experience and value work while in the educational system, we are convinced that their chances of finding and valuing work through the jobs they hold in the world of paid employment will increase. To say that is simply to recognize that what is "work" to one person may very well be "labor" to another and "play" to still another. The reality of "work" lies in perceptions of the individual, not in the nature of a particular job or occupation. To the extent people can perceive their jobs in the world of paid employment as "work"–i.e., as purposeful, meaningful, productive effort, rather than as "labor"–i.e., as involuntary, meaningless effort that has no individual purpose or sense of accomplishment–we have assumed that productivity in the world of paid employment will increase. This is not an unreasonable assumption.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that, by organizing the career education effort around the process of career development, we are using a base that has many years of productive research behind it. It is an orderly and a systematic process. By emphasizing both the multiplicity of work values existing in our current society and by simultaneously emphasizing the steps in career decision making, we are operating in ways that maximize self understanding and expanded freedom of choice for all individuals. Far from being an attempt to "brainwash" individuals, career education is a developmental approach to increasing the readiness and the ability of each individual to exercise maximum control over her/his own destiny. Our assumptions regarding the nature of "work" are not a "myth," as Grubb and Lazerson have charged.

Career Education and Postsecondary Education

At several points in their article, Grubb and Lazerson make statements regarding what they perceive to be efforts, on the part of career education, to discourage college attendance. Typical of their comments are the following:

> Career educators assume that when students are aware of alternatives to college and can establish 'realistic' goals through career awareness programs, unnecessary college attendance will decrease. (p. 457)

> Career educators assume that bringing students into contact with the world of work and giving them realistic aspirations will blunt students' drives to college. (p. 471)
>
> Career education attempts to attenuate this dysfunction by bringing aspirations in line with the availability of high-skill jobs, by replacing high aspirations with lower ones, and by preparing students in ways that make continuation to higher education more difficult. (p. 473)

The most direct and simple way of answering these accusations is to label them for what they are—FALSE. However, since others as well as Grubb and Lazerson have voiced these kinds of fears, it seems desirable to summarize here an OE position on this matter. Such a summary includes the following points:

1. It is true that career education seeks to emphasize multiple educational opportunities available for use by students in preparing themselves for work. We are, to be sure, trying to eradicate the false notion that the best and surest route to occupational success is represented by the college degree.

2. Our concern is with helping students make reasoned educational and occupational decisions. We are neither attempting to encourage attendance at postsecondary vocational-technical type institutions nor discouraging attendance in liberal arts colleges. If the career education effort is successful, each type of postsecondary education will get the students it deserves. Students will be aware of the institution's purposes and, by contrasting such purposes with those of the individual student, will be able to decide which kind of educational institution best meets their needs.

3. In the case of four-year colleges and universities, career education seeks to emphasize the proper place education, as preparation for work, holds among the multiple goals of the institution. It may well be that one of the direct results of career education will be to encourage colleges and universities to clarify and give proper emphasis to their particular goals that have nothing at all to do with education as preparation for work.

4. Career education asks no college or university to hold, as one of its basic goals, that of education as preparation for work. Rather, we simply ask those institutions who do not value this goal to make this clear to the students who attend and to their parents.

5. For those colleges and universities who do hold education as preparation for work as one of their basic goals, we ask that a proper balance be maintained between the institution's efforts to provide students with adaptability skills through the liberal arts and with job specific skills through their preprofessional and professional programs. As with our efforts at the elementary and secondary levels, we hope, within such colleges and universities, to make education as preparation for work a major goal of all who teach and all who learn.

6. Those colleges and universities who hold education as preparation for work as one of their basic goals will find many implications for change inherent in the career education concept. We feel strongly that career education belongs on the university campus fully as much as it belongs in the elementary and secondary schools.

It is hoped that these six points will help clarify the position of the United States Office of Education in this matter as stated in the OE policy paper, *An Introduction To Career Education.*

Criteria for Evaluation of Career Education

At several points in their article, Grubb and Lazerson pose what they claim to be criteria for evaluating career education advanced by career education advocates. They then devote space to describing why, in their opinion, career education cannot meet these criteria. As an attempt to provide clarification on this point, I would like here to present two lists of evaluative criteria specifically mentioned in this article. The first list contains evaluative criteria ascribed to career education that, in fact, are false. The second list contains evaluative criteria Grubb and Lazerson say career education cannot meet which, in fact, we believe we can.

False Evaluative Criteria Ascribed to Career Education by Grubb and Lazerson

1. Possession of a set of marketable job skills on the part of every high school graduate. (p. 454)
2. Decrease in unemployment. (p. 457)
3. Preparation of students for entry level, rather than professional, jobs (p. 469-470)
4. Blunting students' drive toward college attendance. (p. 471)
5. Reduction in student expectations and limiting of student aspirations. (p. 473)

Before proceeding to the second list, let me try to correct the false perceptions raised by Grubb and Lazerson in posting this list of erroneous evaluative criteria. A sentence or two with respect to each should be sufficient for doing so.

1. The OE policy paper, *An Introduction to Career Education,* proposes that every student, by the time she/he leaves the formal education *system,* be equipped with a set of marketable job skills. It does NOT say by the time they leave *high school.*

2. Reduction in unemployment is not one of the learner outcomes listed in the OE policy paper on career education. While we expect the career education effort to make some positive contribution here, the total problem is too complex and influenced by too many factors to make it a reasonable primary criterion for use in evaluating career education.

3. The 15 OE clusters cover the full range of occupations, from the lowest level entry jobs through those requiring the highest levels of graduate preparation. The emphasis is certainly not aimed at entry level, as opposed to professional, preparation. Even more basic, career education is not a kind of *preparation program* (which simply makes this criterion still more inappropriate).

4. The previous section should have made it clear that career education in no way seeks to discourage students from attending college.

5. Whether the career education results in raising or lowering student expectations and aspirations will be a function of where the student is at the time the career education effort is applied. The goal is not aimed at "raising" or "lowering," but, rather, aimed at increasing student self-understanding and student understanding of educational/occupational alternatives.

Valid Evaluative Criteria for Career Education Which Grubb & Lazerson Claim Cannot be Met

1. Reduction in likelihood of preparing students for dead-end jobs (p. 456)
2. Readying students for a progression of jobs (p. 470)
3. Preparing students for careers rather than dead-end jobs (p. 469)
4. Resolving social problems (p. 473)
5. Developing avenues of upward mobility (p. 473)
6. Making school and work more satisfying experiences (p. 473)

The first three of these six criteria relate to career education's efforts to equip all students with adaptability skills including: (a) basic academic skills; (b) good work habits; (c) a personally meaningful set of work values; (d) career decisionmaking skills; and (e) job seeking, job getting, and job holding skills. If students are equipped with such skills, they should be prepared to change with changes in the occupational society. Grubb and Lazerson's claim that many jobs are not arranged in "career ladders" is irrelevant. It is the *individual's career,* not the job's career, with which we are concerned.

While, of course, career education is limited in its potential for solving current social problems, there are three such problems for which we do claim potential for making some positive contribution. These are: (a) the problem of productivity; (b) the problem of reduction of sex stereotyping as a deterrent to freedom of occupational choice; and (c) the problem of reduction of race bias in limiting full freedom of educational and occupational opportunities. Given proper resources, I am not afraid of having career education evaluated on these measures.

Certainly, career education's emphasis on education/work relationships and on lifelong learning both argue for its potential in developing avenues of upward mobility. As with many of the other criteria in this list, career education makes no pretense of being, by itself, a sufficient vehicle. It does claim the potential for some positive impact.

Finally, it is most difficult to understand how Grubb and Lazerson could claim that career education holds little or no potential for making school and work more satisfying experiences. If there is any single contribution that career education clearly claims, it is in this domain. Career education's approach in the classroom is built around conscious attempts to reduce worker alienation, among both students and teachers, in the classroom. It should make school more satisfying to both. If students understand themselves in terms of their own work

values, the potential is clearly present for making the work they do a more meaningful and satisfying experience for them.

While this is not the proper place for yet another listing, I would urge all concerned with the question of criteria appropriate for use in evaluating career education to study carefully the nine learner outcomes for career education found in the OE policy paper, *An Introduction to Career Education.* It makes an interesting contrast to the lists found in Grubb and Lazerson's article.

Concluding Remarks

Career education is, to be sure, still an evolving concept. Yet, the high degree of consensus found among career education practitioner, State coordinators of career education, and career education conceptualizers with respect to the OE policy paper, *An Introduction to Career Education,* makes it apparent that, on many basic points, consensus has already been attained. It is, I think, most unfortunate that this consensus paper was completely ignored by Grubb and Lazerson as they prepared their criticisms of career education. Career education welcomes criticism from those who disagree with the concepts we espouse. We feel, however, that it is not unreasonable to expect that those who disagree with us would pay some attention to our basic conceptual statements. I hope our future critics will do so.

OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN CAREER EDUCATION

The current career education picture has caused two very old sayings to run through my mind: (a) "Adversity is the Mother of invention"; and (b) "We never promised you a rose garden." Perhaps this presentation will help explain why I keep remembering those things.

The career education picture has never looked brighter than it does at the present time. Interest in and enthusiasm for career education continues to grow at the local, State, and national levels. At the local level, the number of communities initiating career education efforts on their own increases each year. At the State level, both the quantity and the quality of State department of education leadership for career education is increasing rapidly. So, too, is the interest and actions of State legislatures in enacting career education legislation and in appropriating State funds for career education. At the Federal level, the number and diversity of national organizations, associations, and corporations endorsing career education has grown steadily over the last five years. Some Federal career education legislation has been enacted and further Federal legislative measures are currently being considered by the Congress. We have, indeed, come a very long way since 1971.

As the concept of career education has been clarified, the problems we face in converting that concept into effective implementation efforts have also become more apparent. The promise of career education remains much more evident than does its effective delivery. The time has come to identify and to specify those basic restraints to implementation growing out of the career education concept. Only when such constraints are squarely faced can we plan effective solutions to overcome them.

It is important to note that the constraints have increased as the career education concept has been clarified. That is, we have chosen the hard, rather than the easy, route to take in championing career education as a reform movement in American education. Neither masochistic tendencies nor simple naivety have led us in this direction. Rather, we have chosen what seems to be the best route to take toward a long-range, permanent reform effort. Had we not chosen this route, career education, like many earlier reform attempts, would have been a fad with a predictably short life span. Career education is too important and too badly needed to run that risk.

Here, I would like to identify and comment briefly on what I regard as the five major obstacles facing the implementation of career education. Following the identification of each, I would like to comment briefly on why we have chosen to face the obstacle and some of the current alternative solutions available for overcoming it.

Obstacle 1: The Pendulum Problem

The first obstacle is one that I would call "the pendulum problem." Basically, the problem is one of bringing a *proper* emphasis to education, as preparation for work, among the basic goals of American education. The troublesome word

here, of course, is "proper." There is no doubt but that more emphasis must be placed on this educational goal than has been apparent during the last 50 years. Neither is there any doubt but that, if we over-emphasize this goal, some of the other basic goals of American education may suffer. There is no doubt but that, for the vast majority of parents in this Nation, one of the reasons they send their children to school is so that they will be prepared for work after leaving the formal education system. Neither is there any doubt but that parents also expect schools to accomplish other basic educational goals.

The acquisition of basic academic skills, education for good citizenship, the imparting of socialization skills, good physical and mental health, appreciation and understanding of our cultural heritage and promise, and preparation for home and family life have, for many years, been among the basic goals of American education. None is any less important today than they were in the past. Each represents a way of bringing purpose and purposefulness–meaning and meaningfulness–to the teaching/learning process. We must make sure that, as we emphasize the career implications of subject matter to students, we do not demean nor detract from any other basic goal of American education.

Any *basic* goal of education, if given proper emphasis, holds positive potential for positively affecting all other *basic* educational goals. That is why they are called "basic" goals. Those people, such as we in career education, who concentrate our primary attention on only one of the several basic goals of education must constantly search for ways in which our efforts can supplement and enhance, rather than compete with or impede, the attainment of all other basic goals. If we do not, our enthusiasm runs the risk of "swinging the pendulum" too far in our direction–in which case it will surely swing back and we will have lost.

Career education has attempted to overcome this obstacle by placing a *primary* emphasis on the need for purpose and purposefulness among both those who teach and those who learn and a *secondary* emphasis on our goal of primary interest–i.e., education as preparation for work. We have, as a result, never claimed that our goal is the only one–nor necessarily even the most important one–for students, educators, parents, and the general public to embrace. Rather, we have consistently claimed only that *one* of the reasons students go to school is so they can prepare themselves for work.

The problem of what is a "proper" emphasis is, today, perhaps most clearly seen when we look at our system of higher education. For years, parents sent their children to college under an assumption that the college degree would help them get better jobs. Yet, among many college faculty members, this goal was not at all evident in their actions. In recent years, the economic value of a college education has rapidly and obviously declined. As a result, we see many students and parents questioning the wisdom of college attendance–and many colleges hurrying to strengthen their programs of professional specialization. Sometimes, this has been done at the expense of the liberal arts–and, if so, the pendulum has swung too far.

Career education has urged those colleges who value the goal of education, as preparation for work, to demonstrate their values with operational efforts campus-wide. As part of this effort, career education advocates—at least those of us in OE—have tried to picture the importance of the liberal arts in attaining the goal of education as preparation for work. In doing so, we have pointed to the great potential the liberal arts hold for providing students with adaptability skills required to change with change. In asking the liberal arts to recognize their potentiality here, we have never asked them to abandon nor downplay contributions the liberal arts make to other basic educational goals.

If career education is successful, most colleges and universities will change in two ways: (a) so as to implement their stated goal of preparing students for work; and (b) so as to emphasize and clarify the multiple goals of higher education. This is what we mean by maintaining a "proper" emphasis.

Obstacle 2: The Impotence Image

A second obstacle to implementation facing career education is what I would call "the impotence image." Most reform movements strive for success through seeking power and then using that power to convince people that change should occur. The career education concept holds that the greatest power of career education lies in its complete impotence—in its absolute dependence on the increased strengthening of a wide variety of existing educational programs. Career education has pictured itself as a concept to be applied throughout all educational programs at all levels of education—not as a new kind of program to be added to others that now exist.

The basic reason for using this strategy is that it is *reform* of the entire *system* that we seek—not the overthrow of the current system nor the insertion of a new, separate effort to be added to all others that exist. It is our contention that one does not accomplish reform through a system of "add on" programs that leave the rest of the system free to continue "as is." Instead, we seek reform of every part of the educational system at every level and in every kind of educational setting.

We do not seek massive amounts of new educational dollars. Instead, we ask that dollars now available to education be spent in a different fashion. We do not ask for a new kind of specialist at the building level. Instead, we ask all currently employed staff members to change their attitudes and their actions. We do not ask teachers to add new cognitive content to an already over-crowded curriculum. Instead, we ask teachers to utilize the total resources of their community to help students learn more of the substantive content the teacher is supposed to teach. We do not ask for a new course nor for new buildings carrying the label of "career education." Instead, we ask that we utilize existing courses, staff members, and buildings to infuse the career education concept throughout the system of education. We do not seek to "bribe" schools to change with large amounts of new Federal dollars. Instead, we ask schools to change because they *should.*

The dollars we seek for career education are primarily ones to be used for people change—not for program "add ons" nor the salaries of a new breed of

educational specialists. True, we do seek to add career education "ramrods" at the community level, but not at the building level. But that, we hope, will be paid for largely through redirecting current educational dollars. The cost of American education has risen very sharply in the last 20 years. Career education doesn't ask education to change in ways that will make it cost more. Instead, we ask the system to change in ways that are cost-effective.

Thus, career education does not seek change through "bribes," orders, demands, or coercion. Instead, we seek to create opportunities for internal changes in the attitudes of both educators and non-educators in every community that will result in action changes bringing an emphasis to education, as preparation for work.

Obstacle 3: The Definitional Dilemma

The third obstacle to be surmounted is one that I call "the definitional dilemma." This dilemma has arisen because of our attempt to redefine the four-letter word, "work"—and so to change the meaning of education as preparation for work. In view of the very widespread negative connotations associated with the word "work" on the part of the general public, this has become a very formidable obstacle indeed. There are many who still believe it is one that we cannot possibly hope to overcome.

We have attempted to redefine work in ways that emphasize the human need of all human beings to do—to accomplish—to achieve. To become *someone* through doing *something.* To emphasize how each of us can produce benefits for others, not how others can provide help to us. I like to think of it as emphasizing welfare *of* the individual rather than welfare *for* the individual. "Work," as we have attempted to redefine it, becomes a humanistic rather than a purely materialistic word.

There are several reasons why we have created this obstacle for ourselves. First, if we believe that career education is for all persons, it is obvious that "work," in a humanistic sense, will be denied to many if we limit our conceptual efforts to the world of paid employment. For many, the humanistic meaning of "work" will have to be found in productive use of leisure time. In addition, all persons are going to have to learn how to make more productive use of leisure time. Thus, we have added the concept of unpaid work, as well as paid employment, to the goal of education as preparation for work.

Second, one of education's basic tenets has been that society benefits most indirectly through meeting the needs of individuals directly. We do not want to try to change that tenet. The only way it can be retained is to redefine work so that it has a personal meaning for the individual. We firmly believe that, if this can be accomplished, both individuals in our society and the broader society itself will benefit. Career education seeks to help people find work, not just jobs. We cannot be true to our students if we attempt to, in effect, "brainwash" them to like some of the dehumanizing kinds of jobs now existing in the occupational society. Instead, we must seek to help individuals in their efforts to humanize

the workplace for themselves. Thus, we have added a major humanistic dimension to the goal of education as preparation for work.

Third, in these times of rapid societal and occupational change, education as preparation for work can no longer be limited in meaning to the acquisition of specific vocational skills needed for entry into the occupational society. Instead, it must include providing students with adaptability skills—including the basic academic skills, effective work habits, a personally meaningful set of work values, career decisionmaking skills, job-getting, job-seeking, and job-holding skills. Education must become as concerned about helping its graduates get along and move up in the world of paid employment as it is with helping them gain initial entry into that world. Thus, we have added the concept of adaptability skills to the goal of education as preparation for work.

Fourth, changing social patterns that find more and more women in the labor force are making major changes in the home and family structure in the United States. These trends appear sure to increase, rather than decrease, in the years ahead. It is thus imperative to add the concept of work in the home and family structure—for *all* family members—to the goal of education as preparation for work.

We see no point in trying to rekindle a proper emphasis on the goal of education as preparation for work if the goal itself is to be defined as it was 50 years ago. Education is a part of society that must help its students live in the present and prepare for the future. The redefinition of work that we seek to help people understand and implement in their lives is one that we believe is appropriate in today's society and will become even more appropriate in the years ahead.

Obstacle 4: The Teacher Trap

Fourth, we have created for ourselves an obstacle that I would like to call "the teacher trap." In brief, this obstacle has been created through our insistence that, while career education is a truly collaborative effort, the classroom teacher is the key person involved in its success—or its failure.

We have taken this position because of our belief that, if change cannot be seen in the teaching/learning process, then real educational reform cannot be said to have taken place. If there is any truth in the slogan that "the business of business is business," then there is even more truth in the slogan that "the business of education is education." The prime delivery system for education has always been the teacher. Career education does not seek to change this. Instead, we seek to change teachers' attitudes, knowledges, and experiences in ways that will lead them to change their actions so as to result in the effective implementation of the career education concept.

In terms of the history of education during the last 40 years, this is a most unusual avenue for use in attempting educational reform. During this period, the typical educational strategy has been one of adding new kinds of personnel who, initially, are charged with helping teachers help students and who then, after a

few years, become so specialized that they profess to produce special benefits for students independent of those available from classroom teachers. Career education has placed its basic hopes and trust in the classroom teacher.

To overcome this obstacle, career education has asked for released time for teachers to study career education and to devise means of infusing career education strategies into the teaching/learning process. Those who now urge teachers to "get back to the basics" must be willing to allow teachers the time it takes to devise means of encouraging students to learn the "basics." Career education is one potentially very effective vehicle for accomplishing this goal. We have great faith that teachers are, in great numbers, both smarter and more creative than the educational "assembly line" has allowed them to be. Career education seeks to free teachers in ways that will allow them to demonstrate that our faith in them is not misplaced.

Obstacle 5: The Collaborative Quandary

Fifth, we face an obstacle I would label as "the collaborative quandary." Briefly, the problem is one of crying for educational reform while admitting, from the outset, that educators will never be able to bring about this reform by themselves. The problem may well be more readily understood if we recognize that, in fact, it is community reform—not just educational reform—that we seek. That is, we seek changes in educators, in parents, and in members of the business/labor/industry community, all of which are directed toward helping students understand and capitalize on the changing relationships between education and work.

We have taken this action because we recognize that the world of schooling and the world of work can no longer be separated—either in segments of life space or in interaction—for most of our citizens today. Added to this is our conviction that sufficient resources exist now, in almost every community, to help most people understand and capitalize on education/work relationships much better than they have in the past where various segments of the community went their own separate ways. Massive new programmatic attempts to help students solve the education/work dilemma should not be sought until we have first done the very best we can with the resources available to us. We are convinced that a "what's do-able now" philosophy of pragmatic idealism is preferable to our past behavior which has typically stemmed from viewing the problem with alarm and then theorizing about needed, long-run, expensive solutions.

To overcome this difficulty, we have encouraged the creation and operation of Community Career Education Action Councils with representation from all three major segments—educators, the business/labor/industry community, and the home/family structure. In such councils, each segment seeks advice and consultation, as well as cooperation, from the other segments. In the long run, however, each is also charged with a set of things to do—actions to take—not merely agreeing with actions others decide to take. It is an *action* Council, not merely an *advisory* Council, that we seek in career education. That is why we

have, from the outset, pictured career education as a collaborative, rather than as a cooperative, effort.

The art of compromise is crucial to the concept of collaboration. We know it is easier for each of us to work alone than to make the accommodations required for us to work together. But we have worked alone for far too long and our students have suffered as a result. It is time we worried less about how much credit each of us gets and for worrying more about how much help youth really receive. Under such arrangements, where evaluation must be student-based, rather than program-centered, it will obviously be much easier to assign blame than to award credit for the cumulative effort. This should not deter us.

Concluding Remarks

These are, in my opinion, the five major obstacles we have created for ourselves through the ways in which we have conceptualized career education. Many, many smaller ones also exist but they need not be specified here. It is, as of now, still too early to determine whether or not we can overcome these obstacles, nationwide, and so accomplish the reforms we seek. The doubts that remain stem neither from a lack of resources nor from the lack of a reasonable rationale. Rather, they exist simply because we do not yet know whether or not people—educators, members of the business/labor/industry community, and parents—will come to care enough about the education/work dilemmas facing our youth so as to commit themselves to becoming active agents in devising and implementing solutions. I firmly believe that we will.

NEXT STEPS FOR CAREER EDUCATION

Career education is an evolutionary, rather than a revolutionary, approach to educational reform. This must be true for a variety of reasons including: (a) attitudinal change does not come quickly or easily—and that, basically, is where implementation of the career education concept must start; (b) as a developmental concept, career education asks for changes in the entire system of Education, not just in one part or at one level; and (c) the kinds of changes being sought, since they operate neither from a single organized segment of Education nor with the use of large amounts of money, are strange to many educators and, as a result, difficult to understand.

Thus, when one speaks of "next steps" for career education, the steps taken must be very small indeed. Career education's current problems stem relatively more from the fact that we have tried to do too much too rapidly than from the fact that, in some areas, we have done too little too slowly. Any new movement in Education requires a large surge to get started—and career education, thanks to Sidney P. Marland, Jr., had such a surge. It seems to me advisable to solidify the position we have now reached before embarking on another big surge. By this, I certainly don't mean we shouldn't be sending out "scouting parties" in new areas nor that we should be unwilling to help, in all possible ways, those who now express interest in joining with us. Certainly, I believe we should begin to move much more actively into postsecondary education with the career education concept. At the same time, it seems to me our major efforts must be directed toward solidifying and strengthening the implementation of career education at the elementary and secondary school levels.

In keeping with this view, these remarks are divided into three parts. First, some comments will be directed toward solidifying the career education concept at the elementary and secondary school level. Second, the major conceptual concerns that affect career education at all levels of Education will be discussed in terms of next steps. Finally, brief remarks will be directed toward career education efforts at the postsecondary level.

Next Steps At The Elementary and Secondary School Levels

Great strides have been made over the last five years, at the elementary school level, to both "invent" and to implement career education at the building level. Significant, but far less, progress has also been made at the junior and senior high school levels. I am convinced that this is true, in spite of some apparent contradictory data found in the recently completed AIR study. Much more remains to be done at these levels before we can claim that career education is, in fact, serving as an effective vehicle of educational reform. Here, I would like to identify what, in my opinion, are the major operational problems demanding our immediate and urgent attention.

1. Improving Comprehensiveness Of The Career Education Effort. The AIR data provided estimates that, while approximately 9,000 of the nations K-12 public school systems have initiated some kind of career education activity, what AIR identified as "comprehensive" efforts were taking place in only about 3% of our public school districts. When one realizes that what AIR described as "comprehensive" was really far from what we would like to see, the seriousness of the problem becomes even more apparent.

In practice, we find few school systems where the career education concept has been effectively implemented at the building level, let alone throughout the system. Instead, we find isolated teachers–the innovative, creative, unafraid "self starters" bravely pursuing career education efforts in their classrooms. Even "self starters" will eventually lose their enthusiasm unless their enthusiasm and commitment is, in some way, re-enforced. I have a feeling that we have come about as far as possible by depending on "self starters." It is now time that systematic attempts be made to enlist the understanding and commitment of the vast majority of elementary and secondary educators to career education. To accomplish this, I am convinced that there is an immediate and critical need to concentrate attention now on gaining understanding of and support for career education on the part of school administrators and school board members.

To initiate a comprehensive career education effort will demand that money be available to purchase the time required for the kinds of "people change" career education seeks. The fact that the amount of money required is relatively small does not mean that it is not crucial. It is not simply a question of providing money where none previously existed. Rather, it is a question of replacing the previously, but no longer, available vocational education funds and supplementing those funds with additional dollars. Whether the source of these dollars is local, State, or Federal funds is not nearly as important as is the availability of some funds. Even more important, current conditions preclude the addition of new kinds of dollar support and, instead, demand that we spend currently available dollars in a different fashion. This fact, more than any other, leads me to believe that a significant "next step" must be directed toward school administrators and school board members.

Without a concentrated drive toward increasing the comprehensiveness of delivery of career education, efforts to evaluate the success of our efforts carry a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. The evaluation of effectiveness of a treatment demand that the treatment really is applied. This, it seems to me, must be our first concern.

2. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Career Education. Wherever comprehensive career education efforts now exist, there is a critical current need to engage in systematic evaluation of their effectiveness. Two factors have delayed this effort to date. First, many have pointed out that, because it is a developmental concept, the truly important long run effects of career education cannot be known for at least another 20 to 30 years. Second, much attention has been devoted to our lack of suitable instrumentation, in such domains as teacher/student attitudes, work values, decisionmaking, and self concept, that is

currently hindering our efforts aimed at short-term evaluation of career education's effectiveness. I am convinced that, while both points are valid and important, neither can be allowed to serve as an excuse for failing to greatly increase our attempts to evaluate current comprehensive career education efforts wherever they can be found.

As a vehicle for reform of *Education*, career education should not be afraid to use traditional evaluative criteria—including increases in pupil achievement, in pupil attendance, and in school holding power. Of these, demonstrations of the ability of a career education approach to increase pupil achievement in the basic academic skills is, by far, the most crucial. While preliminary evidence available suggests that career education can have such an effect, this evidence is, at present, far too sparse and too susceptible to criticism for us to claim that career education, if properly applied, *will* produce such results. With the current strong national push toward a "back to basics" emphasis, it seems to me especially crucial that comprehensive career education efforts demonstrate that, in fact, they can serve as an effective vehicle for improving basic academic achievement. I am not afraid to use this criterion providing a truly comprehensive career education effort is being applied. I am very fearful of using it with some of the efforts now being called "career education" that exist in many schools.

3. Increasing Effectiveness Of Use Of Community Resources. Career education, from the outset, has pictured itself as a collaborative effort involving the formal education system with both the business/labor/industry community and with the home/family structure. While positive and significant beginning have been made in implementing this portion of the career education concept, much remains to be done which certainly qualifies as "next steps" for career education.

One area requiring immediate attention is that of encouraging the initiation of local efforts aimed at implementing national policies of a variety of forces from the business/labor/industry community—and then coordinating such efforts in ways that increase the effectiveness of the career education effort. Current national programs directly linked to the career education effort exist in great numbers. They include those of such organizations as: (a) Chamber of Commerce; (b) Rotary, International; (c) American Legion; (d) Exploring Program of the Boy Scouts of America; (e) Girl Scouts of the USA; (f) National Council of Churches; (g) National Alliance of Businessmen; and (h) Junior Achievement. Individual corporations and major labor unions have also launched national efforts aimed at career education goals and objectives—including: (a) General Motors Corporation; (b) General Electric Company; (c) American Telephone & Telegraph Company; (d) United Autoworkers; (e) United Rubber, Plastic, and Linoleum Workers; and (f) American Cyanimid Corporation. Each of these efforts is commendable and deserving of full and enthusiastic support on the part of all concerned about career education.

Most of the national organizations mentioned have State and local chapters of some kind. They could, and should, be fantastically valuable resources for use in

the implementation of career education. Three major "next step" problems currently face us here: (1) These national efforts have not, by and large, trickled down to the local level in ways that will allow local persons recognize the need and their potential for contributing positively to the career education effort. Like those of us in USOE, the rhetoric at the national level far exceeds the action at the local level; (2) The various national programs, while having much in common, also have some differences. Further, each has been pictured as an effort independent of all the others. If and when the national effort reaches the local level, there will be tremendous problems of coordinating such efforts in ways that ensure each complements and supplements, rather than competes, with the others. Since all impact on the schools, the education system will undoubtedly be faced with this task of coordination; and (3) these national efforts must not be allowed to preclude the critical importance and necessity for career education practitioners to work effectively, in a "1 on 1" basis, with small independent business establishments whose involvement will be crucial to successful implementation of a comprehensive career education effort.

In the home/family area, career education efforts, to date, have been largely limited to the use of parents as resource persons for career education activities both within and outside the classroom. We have yet to begin a truly comprehensive and major effort to include the home/family structure itself in the implementation of the career education concept. While, perhaps, it could be argued that some further delay in this area may be necessary, I am convinced that it cannot wait much longer. If it does not qualify as a "next step" now, it soon will.

4. Labor Unions, Low Income Persons, and Career Education. Organized labor has resisted career education, in part, because of a fear that work experience efforts of career education might result in such dangers as ignoring minimum wage laws and taking jobs away from employed adults. Career education has responded by emphasizing the positive career exploration values associated with unpaid work experience. Unpaid work experience appeals very little to poor people—they already know what its like *not* to have money. If career education is to appeal to low income persons, there is a need to emphasize paid work experience for such persons. If career education is to fulfill its promises, it must appeal to both organized labor and to low income persons. This is a dilemma which can no longer be ignored as we proceed toward "next steps" in implementing the career education concept.

The only way I know that this dilemma can be solved is through the active involvement of career education conceptualizers, labor union leaders, and representatives of low income persons in a problem solving mode. Expertise required to solve this problem obviously does not exist among the conceptualizers of career education or it would have already been solved. Involvement of both organized labor and low income persons is essential. It would seem to me that this must be a high priority "next step" for career education.

5. Improving effectiveness of career education for special portions of the population. Current, and past, efforts of the Office of Career Education to support demonstration efforts aimed at meeting the career education needs of such persons as women, minority group members, the physically and mentally handicapped, and gifted/talented individuals have been consistently applied but not at a high level of dollar expenditure. This, in no way, reflects a lack of either interest or concern. Rather, it stems strictly from the way our current career education legislation is written. The AIR data indicate that considerable progress has been made, in all of these areas, by those seeking to implement career education. Yet, much remains to be done.

There is no apparent way in which we, in the Office of Career Education, can do more with the funds now available to us. It seems to me that a significant, and much needed, "next step" for career education must be aimed at seeking the collaborative involvement of the major national organizations involved in implementing career education for these special, and obviously important, persons. The "mini-conferences" we have held involving representatives of such groups have given us a greater understanding of the problems involved. They have not resulted in gaining any high degree of visible support from key national groups aimed at ensuring the effective delivery of career education for members of these special populations. We should not, and must not, stop here.

6. Increasing the R & D Effort In Career Education. While R & D functions cannot legally be carried out now by OE's Office of Career Education, they can and are being conducted by our counterparts within NIE. Such efforts certainly need to be continued and increased both in variety and intensity. It would be inappropriate here for me to try to specify, with any level of exactness, the specific directions such efforts should take. That is, we in OCE do not dictate to NIE anymore than they dictate to us. Suffice it to say here that we recognize and support the need for continuing high NIE priority on R & D functions related to career education. It is very much a needed "next step."

Next Steps In Conceptualization of Career Education

As an evolving concept, the meaning of the term "career education" has undergone considerable change during the five years since Sidney P. Marland, Jr. first used it as Commissioner of Education in USOE. It will undoubtedly continue to do so. As the concept matures, it seems inevitable that it will be put into broader perspective. Since no one can pretend to accurately portray the future, the "next steps" listed here are more correctly thought of as representing my personal hopes and aspirations. While I will hopefully continue to change my mind as I learn more, the following represent conceptual "next steps" that, at present, I intend to fight for no matter where I may be employed:

1. Retention of the word "work" as the bedrock of the career education concept. I feel very comfortable with our current OE definition of "work" that

emphasizes the human need of all human beings to do—to accomplish—to achieve. It is a need which Education should have always been consciously striving to meet. It will continue to be so. Our current definition, it seems to me, is one that will be germane for so long as we can see into the future in terms of predicted societal changes. It is finite enough in meaning so that we can: (a) say with some exactness what we are trying to emphasize with (b) pretending to make the term "career education" synonomous with "education" itself.

2. Clarifying and emphasizing the CHANGING relationships between Education and Work. The goal of "education as preparation for work" cannot continue to be viewed as limited in scope to providing persons with specific vocational skills that can be used by youth to enter the world of paid employment. It seems to me that we will have to continue and increase our emphasis on broadening the meaning of this goal in ways that will allow the following *additions* to (Note: *not* substitutes for) this earlier meaning: (a) an emphasis on adaptability skills that will allow people to change with changes in the occupational society; (b) an emphasis on education/work relationships as ones covering almost the entire life span rather than ones to be viewed in a sequential pattern; (c) an emphasis on work performed as part of productive use of one's leisure time; (d) an emphasis on changing meanings of and divisions of work within the context of changing home/family relationships; and (e) an increased emphasis on reduction of both sexism and racism as deterrants to full freedom of work (Note: not just "occupational") choices. Too many persons have failed to recognize the need for career education in terms of the ways in which education/work relationships have, and will continue to have been, *changed.*

3. Emphasizing the multiple basic goals of American Education. As the career education concept matures, it seems to me it should result in a resurgance of the need for purpose and purposefulness—of meaning and meaningfulness—on the part of all who teach and all who learn. It may well be that this emphasis will represent an even greater contribution to change in American education that can be seen only with our emphasis on education/work relationships as a basic reason for teaching and learning. At the same time, we must continue to place our primary emphasis on the need to bring a *proper* emphasis to our one goal—i.e. education as preparation for work—*among* the several basic goals of Education or it will, once again, get "lost in the shuffle."

4. Emphasizing educational reform through application of a concept. I believe career education will continue to operate as a reform movement in Education through operating as a concept to be applied to all educational programs rather than as a new kind of program to be added to all those currently in existence. That is, we must continue to emphasize the need for "people change" rather than for "program add-ons." This is the only way reform can truly come about. We must continue to strive to make education more cost effective, *not* to make education cost more dollars. We want an increase in educational *effort*, but not in educational *budgets*. It means that we must plan

to continue to operate with the power of persuasion, not with the power of position that comes with large budgets and large staffs. Unless we continue in this direction, *reform* of the education system cannot and will not come about.

5. Continued evolvement as a National, rather than as a Federal, effort. It is, I think, essential that we count on the continuing evolving of the career education concept as a national, rather than as a Federal effort. That is, the prime emphasis must continue to be on local actions most, on State actions next, and on Federal actions least. The prime reason for this emphasis is found in what now appears to be an absolute necessity for viewing career education as a collaborative effort involving school/community interaction—with change coming about both among educators and among a wide variety of community members. To date, it seems to me we have emphasized the need for internal changes in educators more than we have for internal changes among members of the business/labor/industry community and the home/family structure. This cannot continue if career education is to be successfully implemented. Because of wide variation in community structure and values, it seems imperative that career education continue to evolve primarily as a local effort.

6. Emphasizing a commonality of purpose along with diversity of teaching/learning opportunities. As the career education concept continues to evolve, I believe it will do so by simultaneously emphasizing both the commonality of purpose which the goal of "education as preparation for work" holds among almost all educational programs along with at least an equal emphasis on diversity of delivery methods employed in the teaching/learning process. It may well be that an important part of the evolving career education concept will be seen in its emphasis on encouraging variety in both the sequence of learning opportunities and the methodology of teaching. A continuing emphasis on career education as a vehicle for encouraging such diversity among all educational programs seems likely, but the value of variety itself may well prove to be a significant next step in career education's conceptual efforts.

These, then, are what seem to me likely next steps in the evolving career education concept. By considering what I have said here in a different light, it will be obvious the directions I hope career education will *not* take as the concept evolves further.

Career Education and Postsecondary Education

There is no doubt but that, if the promise of career education is to be realized, the concept must be extended to all of postsecondary education. Further, I have no doubt but that receptivity to the career education concept is probably already stronger in postsecondary education that most persons today seem to recognize or acknowledge. Finally, I have no doubt but that implementation of career education, at the postsecondary level, will be both slower and more difficult than at the K-12 levels of education. Extension to postsecondary education will, to be sure, be an essential "next step," but it will

not be one that will come about easily or rapidly in my opinion. There are four basic obstacles to be overcome here.

First, we should recognize that, in the history of American education, concepts of educational reform have been applied much more frequently at the K-12 than at the postsecondary education level. Persons in higher education have spent much more time urging reform on others than on advocating reforms for themselves. Where reform has occured in postsecondary education, it has typically taken the form of "add-on" emphasis in either types of educational institutions or programs within institutions, *not* in basic changes within educational personnel employed at a particular institution. Establishment of land grant colleges beginning in the last part of the 19th century emphasized a new *kind* of institution, not basic changes in those currently existing. Emergence of the community college movement, too, has resulted in a different form of postsecondary education, but not in a call for basic change within the total framework of postsecondary education. Within traditional institutions of higher education, we see today emergence of a wide variety of new kinds of educational programs and educational delivery systems. We do not see great change in the basic institutional structure. The kinds of changes posed by career education would affect most parts of the entire campus. This will not be easily accomplished.

Second, those changes that have come to postsecondary education, over the years, appear to me to be primarily as a result of infusion of large amounts of new dollars that caused institutional re-direction. If the career education concept is to be applied to postsecondary education, it cannot, of course, be done through this method—or the concept itself would be destroyed. I have an unverified feeling that this approach to educational change may have difficulty gaining rapid acceptance among those who work in postsecondary education.

Third, the current tendency of postsecondary education to respond to a call for an increased emphasis on education/work relationships has been one of increasing emphasis on professional specialization programs along with a relative de-emphasis on the liberal arts. This has resulted in a variety of philosophical arguments regarding what is popularly described as "liberal arts vs career oriented education." To those of us in career education, of course, this is a specious argument and one that would not exist if people fully understood the career education concept. In spite of this, such arguments have been raised and, as a result, resistance to career education efforts has been heightened on many campuses. This resistance may be difficult to overcome.

Finally, my biggest worry about efforts to introduce and to implement the career education concept in postsecondary education stems from the primary importance career education places on internal changes within members of the teaching faculty leading to a variety of changes in the teaching/learning process. Having been a university faculty member since 1950, I believe I know what I am talking about when I say the necessity for this kind of change poses a set of very formidable challenges. I fear that it will be difficult to convince many faculty members in postsecondary education to read even the basic literature in career

education as a basis for deciding whether or not they wish to change. Most, I believe, feel that they scarcely have time to keep up with the literature in their own professional specialty, let alone read literature from another field. To suggest the need for meaning and meaningfulness to come from more than the substantive content itself is sure to be insulting to many faculty members. Yet, unless change comes about in terms of both the attitudes and in the actions of individual faculty members, implementation of the career education concept in postsecondary education will not be fully achieved. I see no way this problem can be avoided or regarded as unimportant.

Let me again emphasize that I do not believe implementation of the career education concept in postsecondary education will be impossible. I do believe it will be relatively more difficult and time-consuming than at the K-12 levels.

Concluding Remarks

Whenever one speaks of "next steps," there is an inherent implication that we must do better than we are doing at present. As a result, a discussion of "next steps" almost inevitably leads one to look at present efforts with less than complete enthusiasm. I recognize and acknowledge that I have been guilty of that in this presentation.

Because of this, I feel a strong need to conclude this presentation in a more optimistic fashion. Personally, I am neither disappointed or ashamed about progress that, to date, has been made in developing and implementing the career education concept. Never has a concept evolved so quickly with so much enthusiasm in so many parts of the country and among such a wide variety of audiences with so few dollars. The concept is strong and is getting stronger. Career education has done more than many previous efforts in that it has gone beyond simply identifying problems and has moved actively toward beginning to solve them. It has done so with a minimum of dollars and a maximum of professional commitment to change. It has not called for a vast series of costly, time-consuming new programmatic efforts but, instead, has operated on a philosophy that asks us to discover the very best we can do with the total community resources now available to us before asking for any new large financial resources. As we recognize the obvious fact that much more remains to be done, let us also recognize that we have already accomplished a very great deal under what, at best, have been very difficult conditions. I am very, very proud and appreciative of those who have worked and who continue to work in the career education crusade. I remain very confident and optimistic regarding the future of career education.

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